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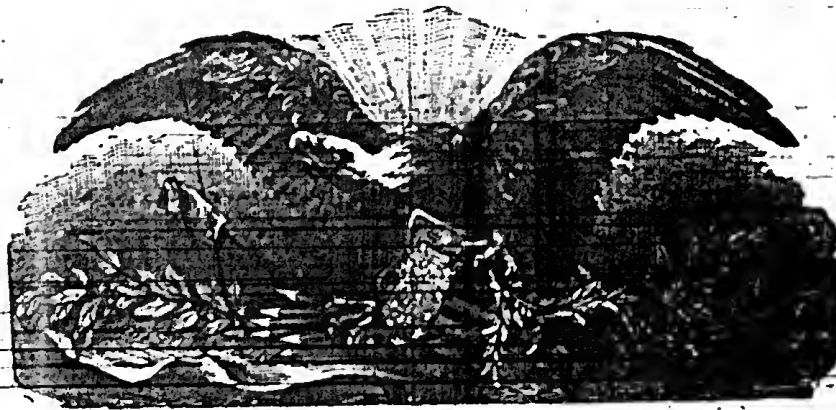
PROCEEDINGS

— of the —

NATIONAL CONVENTION

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Held in Chicago, September 28., 1889.



Herausgegeben von J. Willig.

Kommissions-Verlag von G. Muehler.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

PROCEEDINGS

— of the —

National Convention Socialist Labor Party.

Held in Chicago, September 28, 1889.

First Day.

The seventh National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party was convened at Vorwärts Turner-hall, West 12th St., Chicago, Ill., on Saturday, September 28, 1889.

The Secretary of the National Executive Committee, W. L. Rosenberg, opened the convention at 2 o'clock, p. m.

He said:

"Comrades, upon the vote of ten sections in five different states, in accordance with Art. II, § 1 of our constitution, you are this day convened in the seventh National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party. The ten sections so voting are: —

American Section New York, N.Y.

"	"	Chicago, Ill.
German	"	Boston, Mass.
"	"	Cincinnati, O.
"	"	Paterson, N. J.
"	"	Baltimore, Md.
"	"	Kansas City, Mo.
"	"	Erie, Penna.
"	"	Evansville, Ind.
"	"	Adams, Mass.

The urgent necessity for this convention will appear as we proceed with the order of business. You will please make nomination for a temporary chairman."

Thereupon Mr. G. A. Hohn of Chicago was elected temporary chairman. Mr. Henry Hansen and Miss Mary C. Maud were elected temporary secretaries.

A committee on credentials was then elected, consisting of Messrs. P. Knickerhohn, of Chicago, Behring of La Salle, Ill. and Muehler, of Cincinnati, O.

Recess of 15 minutes.

The committee on credentials being ready to report the convention was called to order and the following delegates were reported as entitled to seats in the convention:

Adams, Mass.,	W. Langner.
Baltimore, Md.,	G. A. Hohn.
Boston, Mass.,	A. Hamilton.
Chicago, Ill. (Am. Sec.),	T. J. Morgan.
Chicago, Ill. (Germ. Sec.),	H. Hansen.

Cincinnati, Ohio (Germ. Sec.)
G. Muehler.

Cincinnati, Ohio (Am. Sec.), J.
Willig.

Cleveland, O., Fred. Trappe.

Evansville, Ind., P. Knickrehm.

Kansas City, Mo., G. Bartels.

La Salle, Ill., B. Behring.

Lynn, Mass., Sherlie Woodman.

Minneapolis, Minn., Max Wier-
ner.

New York, N. Y., J. F. Bushe.

Paterson, N. J., D. Hegehan.

Providence, R. I., M. C. Maud.

Rochester, N. Y., J. Vahlteich.

National Executive Committee,
W. L. Rosenberg.

On motion of Mr. Knickrehm
the temporary chairman and se-
cretaries were made permanent for
this session.

Moved by Mr. Knickrehm that
a committee of three be elected to
inquire of the "Chicago Arbeiter-
Zeitung" whether this paper would
publish the proceedings of the
convention as furnished by the
secretaries and if so to arrange for
the purchase of the plates for
future use. Carried and Messrs.
Bushe, Knickrehm and Hamilton
were elected such committee.

By Mr. Morgan moved that a
Press Committee be elected to
communicate with the represent-
atives of the local press and the
associated press. Carried.

Voted: that the committee ap-
pointed to interview the publish-
ers of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" be
also the press committee.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Morgan
that the National Board of Super-
vision be informed by telegraph
that the convention is in session,
naming the members of sections
represented, and requesting the
board to send its report and one
of its members to represent it at
this convention.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Bartels
that telegrams be sent to all sec-
tions not yet represented, owing to
the false report sent out from New
York City that the convention
would not take place September
28th, notifying them that the con-
vention is in session and request-
ing them to send their delegates.

Thereupon, on motion of Mr.
Hansen the convention adjourned
to Sunday morning September 29,
at ten o'clock a. m.

Second Day.

Sunday, a. m., Sept. 29., 1889.

Convention called to order at
10 o'clock a. m. by Secretary Maud.
Mr. Bushe elected chairman and
Secretaries Maud and Hansen were
continued in office.

Yesterday's minutes were read
and approved.

The committee on credentials
reported receipt of credentials
from St. Louis and a letter from
comrades in Texas naming A. Hep-
ner and G. A. Hohn delegates re-
spectively. The committee re-
ported letters received from Cor-
ning, O., Yonkers, Syracuse and
Buffalo, N. Y., endorsing this con-
vention. Report accepted.

Roll-call showed all delegates
present.

The reading of the order of busi-
ness was called for and on motion
of Mr. Morgan it was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Muehler the
report of the National Executive
Committee was taken up and it
was then read of W. L. Rosenberg,
the National Secretary.

Motion by Muehler that a com-
mittee of three be elected to in-
vestigate the report was tabled
until the afternoon session.

Thereupon the report was trans-
lated in German.

Adjournment until 2 o'clock p. m.

2 p. m. Sept. 29.

Convention reassembled and chairman and secretaries were retained for the session.

Roll Call.— Translation of National Committee's report into German continued.

Recess for 24 hours to attend a mass-meeting.

On reassembling at 5.30 o'clock p. m. moved by Mr. Morgan that the report of the National Committee, as well as the report of the delegate to the Paris congress be printed and sent to all sections throughout the country and that the convention be adjourned to meet again October 12., 1889, so as to give all sections a chance to be represented.

This caused a long discussion, which was participated by nearly all the delegates. Morgan, Vahlteich and Hepner speaking in favor of the motion and Knickrehm, Trappe, Langner, Muehler, Hegemann, Hansen, Behring, Busche, Hohm, Bartels and Rosenberg against it.

During the debate the question of the legality of the convention was raised and all the delegates declared the convention undoubtedly legal and in conformity with the general vote of the party and with reference to the Board of Supervision it was determined that that body could not change its decision as to the date of a convention after having announced it. The vote was: Morgan in favor of adjourning as above moved, against adjournment: Langner, Hohm, Hamilton (who felt bound by instructions from the section Boston to vote against adjournment, although personally in favor of the motion), Hansen, Muehler, Trappe, Knickrehm, Bartels, Behring, Wiener, Busche, Hegeman and Maud.

Moved to refer report of National Ex. Committee be referred to a committee of three to report and make recommendations. Carried unanimously. (Hamilton voting with the explanation, which he desired placed on record, that his vote should not be understood as indorsing or approving any charges made in report against members of the party not notified of such charges and not present to defend themselves.

Messrs. Muehler, Behring and Hohm were then elected as such committee.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock a. m. Sept. 30., 1889.

Third Day.

The convention was called to order by comrade Hansen, secretary of the previous session, at 9 o'clock a. m. Comrade Knickrehm was elected chairman. G. A. Hoehn, English secretary and Henry Hansen, German secretary. Minutes of last session read and approved. The list of delegates were read, all being present with the exception of J. Vahlteich and Adolf Hepner, the latter having been obliged to return to his editorial duties at St. Louis.

Additional delegates were reported as follows, by the committee on credentials: Jacob Willig, Am. Sec. Cincinnati, Ohio and German Sec. Covington, Ky. Grahling, Ger. Sec. Albany, N. Y. A. Berg, Am. Sec. Albany, N. Y. The report was accepted and the delegates seated.

The report of the delegates to the Paris International Socialist Congress was made by delegate Busche and translated into German by Knickrehm. Report accepted. Then followed the reports of dele-

gates which in the main showed progress. Their resolutions and instructions were referred to the appropriate committee.

Resolutions sent by the sections of Corning, Ohio, Erie, Penn., Yonkers, Syracuse and Buffalo, N. Y. were also referred to appropriate committee.

By Muehler moved that a committee of three on platform and a like committee on constitution be elected: Bushe amended to make the platform committee five. Motion as amended carried.

Committee on platform: Bushe, Morgan, Hamilton, Knickrehm, Willig.

Committee on constitution: M. C. Maud, Hegeman, Trappe.

The report of the business manager of the party organs was read and referred to the committee on Nat. Ex. Com. report.

Recess 12.30 to 1.30 o'clock.

Convention called to order at 1.30 o'clock. Comrade Knickrehm in the chair. Miss Maud and Mr. Hansen, secretaries.

Morgan moved to adjourn till 5 o'clock to give the committees an opportunity to attend to their duties.

On reassembling the committees asked for more time, and the convention adjourned till 9 o'clock of the next day.

Fourth Day.

Tuesday, Oct. 1.

The committee not being ready to report at 9 o'clock the convention was called to order at 10 o'clock by secretary Hansen.

Bartels elected chairman; M. C. Maud, English secretary; H. Hansen, German secretary. Minutes of Monday read, correction made and accepted. Roll call of delegates. All present except Vahl-

teich. Secretary Hansen stated that the report he had handed to the Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung for republication was curtailed so as to make the stereotype plates ordered useless.

Platform committee presented a resolution on our position in regard to Trades Unions. During the discussion which followed Langner and Willig presented additional resolutions.

Hamilton moved that the three resolutions be referred to the platform committee with instructions to report a new resolution. Carried.

Adjourned till 2 o'clock.

At 2 o'clock convention called to order by secretary Mand.

Mr. Bushe elected chairman. M. C. Mand and Henry Hansen, secretaries. The platform committee reported the following resolution:

Whereas, the principles of socialism embrace all efforts towards the attainment of better conditions for the working class and the Socialist Labor Party is fully committed to this conception, as is proved by its platform of principles; and

Whereas, through misrepresentation of our programme Trade Unionists have been led to believe that the Socialists are antagonistic to their organizations, and are opposed to all efforts to reduce the hours of labor, or to prevent the further degradation of labor through reductions of wages and the imposition by employers of conditions that tend to deprive the worker of the little independence that still remains. Therefore

Resolved, That we recognize the Trade Union movement effort of the workers to resist the encroachments of the employing class upon their means of existence, and while we as Socialists cannot endorse all

the methods employed by Trade Unionist to accomplish their purposes, we have the kindest feeling and sympathy for their objects and pledge our support to every effort that can claim our consciences approval, and we believe it to be advantageous to all wage workers to be members of Trade Union or labor organizations for the purpose, first, of securing the highest possible wages under present conditions; second to aid formulating the best possible plans and working for the reduction of the hours of labor and other necessary and possible improvements in the present condition of employment; third to aid in the educational work that should form the most important function of the Trade Union movement for the reason that accurate knowledge of economic conditions and laws is essential to the formation of correct ideas that must result in successful action.

But we hold it to be the duty of all Trades Unionists who really desire to attain the emancipation of labor from the shackles of private capitalism to support the Socialist Party in its political action to the best of their ability, as the emancipation of labor cannot be achieved solely through economic action, but by the co-operation of political action with the economic.

After a lengthy discussion on a motion to adopt, the resolution was carried by the following vote:

In favor, Langner, Berg, Grahling, Hoehn, Hamilton, Morgan, Hansen, Willig, Trappe, Knickrehm, Behring, Woodman, Wiener, Mand.

Against, Muehler, Bartels, Bushe, Hegeman, who were in favor of a shorter and more concise wording.

The platform committee then reported a draft of a platform.

After the reading of which it was voted that Comrade Rosenberg translate it into German. While this was being done, the future name of the party came up for discussion. Morgan moved that the old name Socialist Labor Party be retained, which was adopted after a long discussion in which several new names were suggested.

The committee for examining the report of the Executive and business manager, reported as follows:

"We respectfully submit to this convention the financial report of the National Executive Committee, beginning with 21. of Sept. when they were ejected from the Labor Lyceum.

Cash on hand	\$162.50
Rec'd	405.91
	568.41
Expenses	510.09
	58.32

Report is correct.

For printing, postage etc., on account of which some sections complained from fifty to sixty dollars were expended on account of the strife in New York.

G. A. Hoehn,
B. Behring,
G. Muehler."

Business Managers Report.

"We acknowledge that Comrade Eckstein has done his full duty by the party and recommend that the wages due him be paid him in full as soon as possible. His discharge by the Board of Supervisors without showing cause, we condemn as an unjust act.

G. Muehler,
B. Behring,
G. A. Hoehn.

In regard to the Party Organs: We recommend that a committee of three at each section be elected to attend to the circulation of the party journals. This committee to report quarterly to the section and send the full amount to the business manager of the journal.

G. Muehler,
B. Behring,
G. A. Hoehn."

The above three reports were by vote accepted.

Another report handed in by the committee relating to the illegal action of the New York German and Jewish Sections and the Board of Supervisors was referred back to the committee with instructions to bring in a report conformable to the facts and the provisions of the constitution. On motion Mr. Willig was added to the Committee.

By Mr. Morgan: Moved that the Party Journals be published from the City which shall be designated as the seat of the Nat. Ex. Com. adopted.

The committee on constitution recommended Boston or Chicago as the seat of the Nat. Ex. Com.

Motion by Morgan that Boston be designated. Tabled until it is decided to have a Nat. Ex. Com. A vote being taken it was decided to have a Nat. Ex. Com.

Morgan again proposed Boston. Behring preferred Chicago. Cincinnati, Buffalo, Baltimore and New York were also proposed.

Thereupon a vote was taken which resulted as follows: Eight votes for Chicago, seven for Boston, one for Cincinnati and one for New York.

Upon motion the two cities having the highest vote were considered in nomination, and upon a

division the following vote was cast;

For Chicago: Grahling, Hansen, Muehler, Willig, Trappe, Knickrehm, Bartels, Behring, Woerner, Hegeman. 10.

For Boston: Langner, Berg, Hoehn, Hamilton, Morgan, Woodman, Bushe. 8.

Chicago was thereupon declared the seat of the Nat. Ex. Com.

On motion of Morgan the matter of the platform was taken up for discussion.

Bushe presented a platform as a minority report of the platform committee.

Morgan moved to adopt the preamble of the platform presented by the majority of the platform committee.

In favor: Langner, Berg, Hamilton, Morgan, Hansen, Knickrehm, Woodman.

Against: Muehler, Willig, Trappe, Behring, Bushe, Hegeman.

By Hansen, moved that in view of the fact that several delegates were absent at a mass-meeting, they be permitted to vote on their return, but that none of those present be permitted to argue the question again with them.

Adjourned at 9.30 to meet the next morning at 9 o'clock.

Fifth Day.

Wednesday, October 2nd.

Convention called to order at 9 A. M. by Secretary Mand.

G. A. Hoehn was elected chairman and M. C. Mand and H. Hansen.

Secretaries. Minutes of yesterday's session read and approved.

On motion of Langner the vote on preamble of platform presented by the majority of the Platform Committee was reconsidered. On motion of Bushe the motion adopted last evening relating to the vote of the

members who were absent last evening was also reconsidered. The whole question of platform was then brought up for consideration.

Mrs. Woodman moved to refer both platforms back to the Platform Committee. Carried.

Mrs. Woodman moved to add two members to this committee, as Messrs. Morgan and Hamilton were absent. Carried. Delegates Trappe and Woodman were so elected.

On motion of Knickrehm the Committee on Constitution were ordered to report. The consideration of the report was then entered into and debated section by section.

During the debate comrade Willig suggested that it was necessary to adopt the constitution so far as it related to the organization of the party, to the political organization of the country. The main features of the proposition the contemplated abolition of the Board of Supervisors, leaving the power in the hands of the various State organizations; the limitation of the functions of the Nat. Ex. Com. and the abolition of the dues and replacing them by a small per capita assessment to cover running expenses of the Nat. Ex. Com. not to exceed 2 cents per capita per month.

Quadrennial conventions to be supported by an assessment of one cent per capita per month, and the expense of delegation to be borne by the national party from this fund, in order to secure a full representation from the section, thus abolishing the proxy system.

The plan thus outlined met with unanimous favor.

A recess was taken at one o'clock.

Re-assembled at 1:30. After further consideration, lasting till late in the afternoon the constitution was unanimously adopted.

A credential from the Philadelphia American Section naming comrade

C. L. Heeg as delegate was accepted, and the delegate seated.

Mr. Hansen moved that the matter of the party property in New York be referred to the American Section of that city, with power to act. Amended that comrade Adam Rosenberg be authorized to act as Attorney for the party. Motion as amended carried unanimously.

In the matter of the party organs, it was voted that the words "if possible" be added to the motion passed yesterday which ordered the place of publication to be at the seat of the Nat. Ex. Com. Voted, that the Nat. Ex. Com. confer with the editors and publishers of various labor papers to the end that two weekly papers, one in English and one in German, be issued as official journals for the party, the same to be under the supervision of the Nat. Ex. Com. Such editors to have the privilege of afterwards using the matter for their own publications and those of other publishers, with a view to establishing other socialist papers.

The committee on Nat. Ex. Com. Report presented the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the convention has taken notice of the most illegal proceedings of the New York German and Jewish Sections, and of the illegal action of the Board of Supervisors.

RESOLVED, that we endorse the consistent legal stand taken by the American Section of New York as expressed in the following resolution adopted at their September meeting at the Labor Lyceum.

WHEREAS, at a joint meeting of the S. L. P. Sections of N. Y. City, held at Clarendon Hall on the 10th of September, 1889, and called by the city committee in conformity with the decision rendered by the Board of Supervision in the matter of the appeal of four members of the

Nat. Ex. Com. Viz: Comrades W. L. Rosenberg, Wm. Hintze, Jos. Sauter, and Adolph Gerecke, against the previous action of the German and Jewish Sections, a majority of the members then and there present voted to withdraw the said four members of the Nat. Ex. Com. and proceeded to elect four new ones, viz: S. E. Schewitsch, Karl Ibsen, Otto Reimer and Rudolph Praast, and instructed the latter to assume the functions of the Nat. Ex. Com. together with the three remaining members, Meyer, Kirchner and Gretsck, and to demand of the other four thus illegally withdrawn the surrender of all the property of the party in their hands respectively, and

WHEREAS, acting under such instruction the thus constituted and so called Nat. Ex. Com. aided by others did by threats of force and otherwise illegally eject comrade Hintze the lawful Secretary of the Nat. Ex. Com. and both the editors of the "Workmen's Advocate" and "Der Sozialist" (Comrades Busche and W. L. Rosenberg) from their respective offices, captured the party printery and tampered with the last issue of the "Workmen's Advocate" (dated Sept. 14.) and do still persist in performing the functions of the Nat. Ex. Com. against the express order of the Board of Supervision and

WHEREAS, the said action on the part of said members of the German and Jewish Sections was irregular, illegal and unconstitutional, in that it was

1st. In utter disregard of the special order of business which was advertised in the call for said meeting by the city committee, to wit: "Legal investigation of the charges against the Nat. Ex. Com." said call having been decided upon by a unanimous vote of the city committee of which seven are members of the

German Section and one a member of the American Section, which latter did not vote on the matter, and in willful and direct violation of the party constitution, section Regulations 3 providing in detail the mode of procedure in such case;

2. In willful disobedience to the order of the Nat. Board of Supervision, on which was officially and publicly announced at said meeting, to the effect that inasmuch as the attention of the said Board had been called to the fact that the existing trouble mainly involved a question of party principles and tactics, any prospective newly elected members to the Executive should not assume such duties until the said Board had passed upon appeal, said order being in harmony with the Const. IV., 2, b. declaring it to be one of the duties of the Board of Supervision to settle all difficulties in the party involving questions of principle in a certain manner therein provided; and

WHEREAS, all the aforesaid illegal acts were committed in spite of the positive and energetic protest in open meeting on the part of a majority of the Nat. Ex. Com. in case they should have offered resistance; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Supervision has rendered its decision for the third time in a communication to the self-styled National Executive Secretary, Benjamin Gretsck, and his associates dated Sept. 14th, 1889, calling upon them to surrender the property of the party to comrades W. L. Rosenberg, W. Hintze, Jos. Sauter and A. Gerecke, the majority of the rightful National Executive Committee, and not to hinder them in the performance of their duties as members of the Nat. Ex. Com. and denouncing the action of the self-styled National Executive Secretary.

and his associates as a high handed and refractory proceeding; and

WHEREAS, at the aforesaid joint meeting members of the German and Jewish Sections maliciously slandered the said four rightful members of the Nat. Ex. Com. charging them with being dishonest hoodlars, incompetent political tricksters and the like, without the least proof and substantiation as to their truth, and not withstanding the fact that the said four members have for a longer or shorter term of years proven earnest, faithful and self-sacrificing party members; and

WHEREAS, at a meeting subsequently held by the said members of the New York German and Jewish Sections on Sept. 15th, 1889 at Clarendon Hall, and illegally called by the self-styled Secretary of the Nat. Ex. Com., Benjamin Griesch, all of the aforesaid illegal, disgraceful and outrageous acts were again endorsed, sanctioned and ratified, and the said members as well as a few members of the American Section, to wit: Charles Sotheran, Hugo Vogt, Jno. Nagel, and others who have willfully made themselves parties thereto, have practically placed themselves outside of the party organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the New York American Section, S. L. P., until the final disposition of the whole question by the Party Congress to be held Sept. 28th, at Chicago and the succeeding referendum, hereby declares its refusal to recognize the New York German and Jewish Sections, together with such members of the American Section who have joined in the aforesaid illegal and unconstitutional action as members of the party organization, and hereby calls upon such members of the respective Sections who do not desire to be considered parties to said ille-

gal acts, meanwhile either to reorganize themselves as a new Section or join the membership of the American Section. Signed,

Jacob Willig,
Gus. Muehler,
G. A. Hoelin,
B. Behring.

This resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote. The same committee reported the following resolution:

WHEREAS, from the report of the Nat. Ex. Com. it appears that certain accusations are made against Sergius E. Schevitsch,

RESOLVED, that the American Section of New York be requested to elect a committee to inquire into the same, and report to the Nat. Ex. Com. for action.

Signed as above.

On motion of Knickrehm it was voted that the result of the above named inquiry be published in the party journals. The report of the committee was accepted as a whole and the committee discharged.

The following resolution was submitted by delegate Hansen:

WHEREAS, the Board of Supervisors ordered the postponement of The National Convention to October 12., thus overriding the referendum vote of the party, and their own decision of September 17th, naming September 28th as the date of the convention from which decision no appeal was taken to the general vote, thereby violating Art. IV, § 6, of our constitution,

RESOLVED, that the Board of Supervision be and is hereby suspended from office.

Carried by a unanimous vote.

Recess 30 minutes.

Muehler moved that the Nat. Ex. Com. be instructed to fix the price of the "Workmen's Advocate" at

\$1.25 per year, 65 cents per six months, and 3 cents per copy. — Referred to Nat. Ex. Com. without instructions.

The Platform Committee reported that they had agreed upon the short platform at first presented by the minority as the national platform, recommending the long platform as at first presented by the majority to be recommended to the State organization for state platform, and that both be submitted to general vote. Report unanimously accepted after a short debate, and the committee discharged.

Section Paterson presented a resolution through delegate Hageman as to the position of the party towards local papers. It was amended and passed as follows:

RESOLVED, that the members of the Socialist Party feel themselves called upon to support only such of the local labor papers as advocate the Socialistic Labor Party's principle and tactics, and on the contrary to avoid those who oppose them.

Adopted.

By the same, moved that the Longdon Sozial Demokrat be requested to publish a brief report of the proceedings of the convention.

Carried.

RESOLVED, that the National Executive Committee, consisting of comrades Rosenberg, Hintze, Gerecke

and Sauter of New York, be ordered to continue their functions until the result of the general vote is published and the new Executive Committee elected. All moneys, communications and the reports of the Sections to be sent to the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, W. L. Rosenberg, 33 St. Marks Place, New York. Adopted.

By Knickrehm: moved that the secretaries and comrades Rosenberg and Busche be instructed to continue in session to edit and preface the minutes and acts of the convention for printing, to be compensated at the rate of \$3.00 per day.

Carried.

By Bartels: moved that the proceedings be printed and be sent to the Sections before October 12th, if possible.

Carried.

Comrades Hoehn and Morgan were invited to make closing speeches to which they responded.

Chairman Hoehn then closed the convention in the following words:

The business of this convention having been transacted, I hereby declare the Seventh National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party adjourned. SINE DIE.

H. Hansen,)
M. C. Mand.) Secretaries

CONSTITUTION

— OF THE —

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

— OF THE —

UNITED STATES.

Adopted by the Chicago Convention
of September 28th, 1889.

Article 1. Name.

The Name of this Party shall be the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY of the United States.

Article 2. Object and Means.

Sec. 1. The object of the Socialist Labor Party shall be to propagate the principles set forth in their platform.

Sec. 2. The means to be employed shall be: the participation in elections by nominating and voting for members of the Party for public offices; the publication of newspapers and literature, and the proclamation by public speakers of the principles of the Party.

Article 3. Organization.

The Socialist Labor Party shall be organized as a National Party, subdivided into State, County, town and district organizations, the latter to be designated numerically.

Article 4. Management.

The affairs of the Party shall be conducted by a National Committee, by National Conventions and by general votes (referendum) as final.

Article 5. National Conventions.

Sec. 1. The regular national convention shall take place in the month of May every fourth year beginning with the year 1891, and shall be called by the National Committee.

Sec. 2. Special national conventions shall take place on the call of the National Committee supported by ten town organizations in five different states; or on call of ten town organizations in five different states.

Sec. 3. Special national conventions shall not take place earlier than 4 weeks after publication of the call therefor.

Sec. 4. Every town organization of the Party which has been in existence 3 months or more prior to the date of any national convention, and has fulfilled its obligations, shall be entitled to representation in such convention by one delegate for each hundred members or fraction thereof. Each delegate shall have one vote. There shall be no proxy representation.

Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the national convention to frame the national platform, prepare a plan of organization, select the place of the succeeding convention, and arbitrate all difficulties within the Party.

Sec. 6. The necessary expenses of delegates and of the convention shall be defrayed from the national Party treasury, which shall be replenished for this purpose by a per capita tax.

Sec. 7. All acts of national conventions shall be submitted to the Sections for general vote.

Article 6. The National Committee.

Sec. 1. The national committee shall consist of seven members to be elected by the organization of the town in which the committee is located, the election to be ratified by the general vote. The national committee shall elect from its members such officers as it deems necessary.

Sec. 2. Vacancies in the national committee shall be filled by election and ratification as above. The national committee shall declare vacant the seat of any of its members for absence from three consecutive meetings of the committee without sufficient excuse and is authorized to order the organization of its locality to fill the vacancy.

Sec. 3. The term of office of the national committee shall extend from one convention to the next.

Sec. 4. The national committee can only be withdrawn by a national convention or a general vote on motion of three Sections in three different states.

Sec. 5. The duties of the national committee shall be:

(a) To carry out the resolutions of

the national convention and those adopted by general vote.

(b) To call the national conventions and make necessary preparations for the same, and report to the same on all party matters.

(c) To conduct the national campaigns.

(d) To legally represent the party.

(e) To establish proper relations and communication with the Socialist Parties of other countries.

(f) To semi-annually publish in the party journals a report stating definitely the condition of the party. This report to be subject to revision by the local organization.

(g) To be represented in the national convention by one of its members who shall have no vote, but a mere advisory voice in the proceedings and shall bear no other credentials.

(h) To issue uniform membership cards, revenue stamps and agitation stamps at cost price, to all state or town organizations.

(i) To levy a per capita tax necessary to cover the expenses of national conventions.

(j) To compensate its officers according to services rendered from the Party treasury which shall be replenished by assessment not to exceed two cents per capita per month.

(k) To publish an itemized report of the result of every general vote in the party organs as well as to publish the minutes of the sessions of the national committee regularly.

(l) To establish their own order of business.

(m) Not to permit any of its members to hold any other office in the party or to be employees of the party organs or other local papers.

(n) To exercise control over the party organs and to determine their management.

Article 7. State Organizations.

Sec. 1. The sections within the limits of a state shall form a state organization.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the state organization to carry on the work of agitation, organization and political action under its jurisdiction in a systematic manner, through a state committee elected for this purpose, and to endeavor to form new organizations in such towns where no organization of the party exists.

Sec. 3. The state organizations shall frame their own state platforms, laws, by-laws and order of business in harmony with the national platform and constitution.

Sec. 4. The state organizations shall report monthly to the national committee as to the condition of the party organizations within their respective jurisdictions.

Sec. 5. Each state organization shall elect a correspondent whose duty it shall be to send a report to the party organs at least once a month on the party agitation and affairs within the state.

Article 8. General Regulations.

Sec. 1. Amendments to or alterations of this constitution may be made by the national conventions or by a general party vote on motion of three town organizations in three different states.

Sec. 2. Every candidate for membership in the Party must declare his acceptance of its platform and constitution by signature, and must receive the majority vote of the town, district or ward organization within whose jurisdiction he resides. Should objection be made to his admission a two-thirds vote shall be necessary to elect such candidate.

Sec. 3. No person shall be eligible as a candidate of the Party for any public office who is not a member of the Party in good standing and has not identified himself with the movement by active participation.

Sec. 4. All committees and officers in the Party shall be elected by an absolute majority vote.

Sec. 5. All officers, boards or committees in the Party shall be subject to dismissal by a general vote of their constituents, except as otherwise herein provided. Any member who has been expelled shall have the right of appeal to the state committee of the state in whose jurisdiction such expulsion took place, or to any national conventions.

Sec. 6. All assessments and per capita tax moneys must be sent to the national committee without deduction.

Sec. 7. The names of members expelled shall be communicated to the national and state committees, together with a statement of the reasons for their expulsion.

Sec. 8. The national, state, county and town organizations shall take charge of the property of dissolved branches of the Party in their respective jurisdictions.

Sec. 9. The national committee may admit persons who reside outside the jurisdiction of any state or county organization as members at large, and shall determine the amount of their dues and assessments.

Sec. 10. All former provisions and laws inconsistent with this constitution are hereby repealed.

Sec. 11. This constitution and all resolutions of the national convention held at Chicago from September 28th till October 3rd, 1889, and ratified by the Party vote, shall be in force two weeks after publication of the general vote.

NATIONAL PLATFORM

— OF THE —

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

— OF THE —

UNITED STATES.

Adopted by the Chicago Convention
of September 28th, 1889.

I. An equitable system of social economy is the basis of the highest form of civilization and human progress.

II. The people organized for mutual protection and advancement constitute the state or commonwealth.

III. It is equitable that each individual should contribute according to his ability to the general welfare and that the state should secure to each individual the enjoyment of his rightful share in the common prosperity. More than this — the state should enhance each individual's abilities and opportunities to contribute toward the common weal.

IV. The true state stipulates the sovereignty of the people whose will is expressed in the law which is a sacred compact and agreement, under which each individual has equal rights and duties.

V. The primary obligation of the state to give its members an occupation and the opportunity for its exercise, is constantly and necessarily violated by the very nature of our present industrial system, which causes:

1. The reckless rate and planlessness of production.

2. The waste of human and natural forces.

3. The commercial and industrial crisis.

4. The constant uncertainty in obtaining the means of subsistence, and the misery of the laboring masses.

5. The accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few.

VI. These conditions are destructive of democracy because the subjection of large number of citizens as wageworkers to the owners of capital leads to their political dependence upon the class of capitalists.

VII. In order to abolish these humiliating conditions we demand:

The nationalization of capital, land and title to labor saving inventions, in the order of their monopolization.

The organization and direction of the industries by the state in the same order.

The ultimate employment by the state of all able citizens in such callings as they may be fitted for.

General and equal public education and training by the state.

General, equal and direct right of suffrage for all citizens of either sex having attained their majority.

Direct legislation by the people, all laws to be submitted to popular vote, (referendum) the people to have the right to propose laws. (initiative.)

The members of all legislative bodies to be responsible to, and subject to recall by, their respective constituencies.

Compulsory service in the national defense.

Explicit Socialism for the People.

State Platform

— of the —

Socialist Labor Party

Adopted by the Chicago Socialist
Convention of September
28th., 1889.

PREAMBLE.

When a body of citizens separate themselves from existing political organizations of age, respectability and historic achievement, and form a party pledged to measures inconsistent with society's institutions of longstanding and of widely accepted worth, it is incumbent upon them to justify their conduct by evidence of such weight and character as shall satisfy the impartial judgment of thoughtful men of the rectitude of their purposes and of the public need of the reforms they advocate. To this end we invite earnest consideration by all men of the facts of economic history in the United States during the past century.

In 1789, when national government was instituted in the United States the economic conditions of the people were those of a nation of individual proprietors engaged in legitimate industrial competition. But the general introduction of steam power, machinery, railways, telegraphs and forms of industrial combination under corporations and trusts has resulted, especially during the past 50 years, in the substitution for that competition of a system of irresponsible com-

bination marked by wage dependence and general industrial servitude. Most significant among the consequences of this transference of industry from individual control to that of despotic capitalists are the following:

One man controls the telegraph in the United States, one man fixes the price and production of all illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils, four men control the production and price of meat, eight men fix the quantity of anthracite coal mined and determine its price to consumers, 60 families control our entire railway system, 250,000 employers control all workshops, factories, tools and miners, and their products together with the millions of workers engaged in them, and less than 50,000 out of a population of 65 millions own more than two thirds of the national wealth. These persons dictate all legislation and control the administration of the law, while the workers who create all wealth, eke out miserable existences upon wages for industrial workers as low as \$1.02 a day, for agriculturalists 80 cents a day, and for miners 71 cents a day, and while even these low rates rule the labor market, a vast army of unemployed, aggregating 1,500,000 persons fill the highways seeking work at any price and, finding it not, resorting to begging and theft for a livelihood.

Incident also to these conditions are a planless production without intelligent provision of public needs or consumption, reckless waste of human and natural forces, constantly recurring commercial and industrial crises, depressing uncertainty of existence among wage workers, masses of whom are subject to untold misery. And

with all these evils there exist in active relentless operation the same forces that produced them, and which, unless removed by intelligent, peaceful political action must intensify these evils until their eradication will be compelled amid the frenzy of revolutionary violence.

Approaching the social problem here indicated with the conviction that this description of it is neither overdrawn nor our apprehensions of its inherent evils unfounded, and firmly convinced, moreover, by the failure hitherto of all party organizations to remedy them that neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties comprehend their gravity or attempt to furnish adequate remedies for them the Socialist Labor Party of the United States declares itself hereby to be an independent political party and affirms the following **Fundamental Truths** as underlying all its principles and purposes:

I. An equitable system of social economy forms the basis of the highest form of civilization and human progress.

II. The people organized for mutual protection and advancement constitute the state or commonwealth.

III. It is equitable that each individual should contribute according to his ability to the general welfare and that the state should secure to each individual the enjoyment of his rightful share in the common prosperity. More than this: — the state should enhance each individuals abilities and opportunities to contribute toward the common wealth.

IV. Labor creates all wealth and to workers justly belong the use

and enjoyment of all the products of their hands and brains.

V. Land is a benefaction of nature which is of right the inheritance of all men for use and occupation, and it cannot justly be made the subject of speculation, or monopolized by a few to the exclusion of the many.

VI. Since with modern machinery and appliances the cultivation of land and the transformation of its products into articles of utility can only be accomplished by multitudes of men who work together on huge farms, in great factories and in vast mines, the rightful independence of the worker can only be secured by the scientific organization of an industrial government wherein land and the instruments of production shall be held in trust by the nation for the workers, to whom shall be guaranteed the right to labor and to the use and enjoyment as private property of the full results of their labor or an equivalent thereof.

VII. In order farther to secure unimpaired to the people the full results of their labor and their right to use and occupy lands and to the use of the tools and instruments of production and manufacture it is essential that all the instrumentalities of communication, transportation, insurance and exchange shall be taken from control of monopolists who levy tribute upon the people and given to the National Government to be operated by it for the public welfare.

As demonstrating the practicability, greater economy and superior efficiency of public as compared with private control of industries, the Socialist Labor Party points with confidence to the nation's postal system and to its

treasury and other departments, to the common school systems of the states, and to the water works, fire departments, gas works, public baths and parks of municipalities throughout the Union and asserts that to private, irresponsible ownership of factories by 250,000 capitalists is due the absorption by them of 92 per cent or \$12 in every \$13 of wealth created by those who labor in them.

No such confiscation of the results of labor could occur in an industrial democracy wherein the voters were human beings and not shares of stock, and wherein industries now "worked" for the profit of a few should be operated for the use of all.

Proclaiming thus explicitly the reasons for its existence and the principles which govern its conduct the National Socialist Party of the United States announces the following

PROGRAM.

1. Independent political action dissevered from compromising or entangling party alliances.

2. Such changes in National and State Constitutions as shall enable state legislatures and the Congress of the United States to execute this program.

3. Make the members of all legislative bodies, including Congress, responsible to, and subject to recall by their constituencies.

4. Give the people the right to propose laws and to vote upon the adoption of laws of importance.

5. Confer universal and equal right of suffrage with direct vote and secret ballot in all elections and also the right of minority representation.

6. Enact uniform law throughout the United States, administer

justice at actual cost and abolish capital punishment.

7. Endorsing the resolution of the International Socialist Congress at Paris July 1889, setting forth the need of practical legislation for the protection of labor, the Socialist Labor Party of the United States pledges itself to work for the enactment of laws to establish

a) Eight-hours maximum working day for all laborers.

b) Prohibition of labor of children under 14 years and limitation of hours of labor of those between 14 and 16 years of age to six hours per day.

c) Prohibition of night work excepting for such industries as by their nature must be perpetually carried on.

d) Prohibition of women's work in all industries particularly damaging to the female organism.

e) Prohibition of night work for women and for males under 18 years of age.

f) At least 36 hours consecutive hours' time of rest per week.

g) Prohibition of such industries and such methods of production as are specially damaging to the health of the workers.

h) Prohibition of the truck system.

i) Inspection of all industries, including house [or home] industries, by inspectors in the pay of the state, half of whom to be nominated by the workers.

1) Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

8. Nationalization of lands.

9. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

10. Nationalization of all factories, workshops, mines and instruments of productions and manufacture. Such nationalization of industries to take place in the order of their monopolization.

11. Nationalization under the federal government of railways, telegraph, telephone, insurance, and banking institutions and all other instrumentalities of communica-

tion, transportation, distribution, and exchange.

12. Compulsory education of all children, instruction in all educational institutions to be gratuitous and to be made accessible to all by public assistance [furnishing meals, cloths, books, etc.].

All education to be under the direction of the United States and to be organized on a uniform plan.

Published by the National Executive Committee of the
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